

312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

[578] Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garof's says:—

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592

I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.¹

243

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyá'dj*) is not planted deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*awdliá*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.² The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]

médjpak	teyá'djnehána	owí
growing	corn good -	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.³ Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

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¹Combs, 345. A later statement (438), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Wapapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.

²Cooking, (a), 580, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[171]

³The Nadi also pray at the first planting (Cooking, (d), 175-176).

1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge.

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jem's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jem, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jem to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land.

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamida used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect.

756 cured, and Roek Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his
 791 maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about
 776 to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years
 Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it
 lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a
 [578] Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to
 the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when
 a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit
 left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines
 (7) were broken and buried with him. Roek Jones inherited his powers
 from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's
 [428] maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power.
 Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;¹ so far as it goes
 the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types
 756 of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit
 787 spirits to dream. Roek Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and
 791 thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make
 it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*giship'*) have spirits; in one instance it
 756 was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said
 776 that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he
 sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hahagut'ladmng*) could be heard out in the
 [755] darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf
 spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure
 was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a
 weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes
 756 before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not
 [787] proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when
 he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the
 half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jem,
 many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919
 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit
 in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant
 stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success.
 In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His
 first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

¹It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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769 buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying.
159 until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

[557] In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

159 Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of
625 our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lano-man, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

578 When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing
691 corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

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He stooped and carefully examined the earth, "Maybe woman's," ⁵⁸ he volunteered. ₆₉₁

"Yes, you said in the beginning that women had destroyed your corn. You will have to tell me their names."

He frowned deeply as he viewed the broken stalks, but finally admitted, "I think two women: Billy squaw; Prince squaw."

"I'll have Venor warn them not to bother your corn," I assured him. "I'll also investigate this myself. They must have a reason for destroying your crop."

I took my departure, and Little Jim joined his family, his wife E-e and two small sons. They formed a circle about the food for the evening meal—burned squash, cold and unpalatable. E-e broke off hanks of the sodden stuff and handed them to the children who devoured them hungrily while she and Little Jim shared the unappetizing fare. E-e was an indifferent housekeeper and one of the poorest cooks in the village, but she was a good-natured wife and her cheerful companionship pleased Little Jim.

Venor was waiting for me at the office as usual, so I sent him to instruct Prince and Billy that their wives destroy no more gardens. I also told him to bring the two women to my office on Monday evening for a hearing.

School had not yet convened Monday morning when Billy appeared at the building, carrying in his hand seven stalks of newly cut corn. He held them out for me to see.

"That my corn," he said angrily. "E-e cut with knife."

I examined the seven stalks. They were cleanly cut. "What has happened in the village that causes the women to destroy one another's gardens?" I asked Billy.

"No un'erstan'," he said, still angry.

"You know that your wife walked on Little Jim's corn. He has a family and needs all the food he can raise. Did you tell her to leave his garden alone?"

"Venor say. She hear." Billy looked chagrined. It was a different story when blame fell on his own household.

"Did Venor tell your wife to come to my office this evening?"

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- 578 We are going to put a stop to this destruction of food, and I am
691 going to learn the reason back of it."

"He say. She hear."

"I'll have E-e brought up too," I told him. "We'll find out why she got into this feud."

Billy turned and walked slowly home, carrying the wilted corn in his hand.

800 I was so eager to get at the trial and learn why these complacent, childish women were determinedly destroying one another's food, that I forgot this was a school day until the bushes parted. The little folks came through at a comfortable walk and entered the classroom. Vesnor had learned to restrain his impatience, but experience had convinced me by now that if he and his pony were absent, the children would spend the day playing in the creek.

578 Vesnor, Little Jim, Billy, Prince and the three women were
691 waiting at my office when school was dismissed. I unlocked the
695 door, and they filed in, the women abashed by the formality and frightened by Vesnor's disapproving mien. They had been accustomed to indulging their love of trickery until the time came for physical combat; the victory then went to the one who could scratch and pull hair faster than her antagonist. A hearing in the superintendent's office was something new and quite disturbing.

Since Little Jim was one of the plaintiffs, he was the first to testify. He stated his case briefly: "I go work corn. Little light. Sun no come up. I see Billy squaw, Prince squaw in corn. Make walk on stalk, break down. I see run in bushes. Run to camp." Little Jim sat down, his troubled face creased by an angry frown.

203 At that moment a woman, her *sutam* floating behind her, breezed through the door and eased her plump body into a chair. She was Vesnor's wife, a giggling woman, much younger than he, whose ears were attuned to gossip. She had come to gather news, first hand, so that she might gleefully dispense it later to an eager audience. This feud had been going on for some time, possibly years, and interest was keen, for word of the trial had swept through the village.

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Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sataw* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythinga. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

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578 to make go hungry. I walk thirty stalks his corn. I plenty mad."
691 She gave E-e a glance loaded with malice and hesitantly took her
695 seat.

Billy stepped forward and voiced his complaint. E-e had cut seven stalks of his corn. He found the stalks lying in the field. He explained that he needed the corn for food for his family. He would not have seed, he could not fill his storehouse, if his crop were destroyed. His face had lost its jovial expression and was puckered with concern.

E-e, the accused, came forward reluctantly. The look of lary contentment had drained from her face; there was fear in her dark eyes. She spoke haltingly, with many gestures. "I pick up brush." Her quick fingers went through the motions of gathering and piling brush. "I dry. I want fire. Billy's squaw throw brush. Scatter everywhere." Again her fingers spoke, making the gesture of tossing brush to the winds. "I no find. No make fire. No cook bread. She break Little Jim corn. She make brush scatter. I plenty mad. I walk little on corn. I cut little. I too mad."

I managed to keep a straight face, but was chuckling inside. Those precious, mischievous women. They refused to submit to the deadly monotony of their lives, and added a touch of excitement by playing sly tricks, each striving to be more cunning than the other. I wanted to pat them on their plump shoulders and send them happily home, but when a garden is no larger than the floor of a room, and a family depends on it for food, it must not be the pawn in a game.

We discussed their crimes with great seriousness. They were quick to agree that the destruction of food must stop, and they expected to be penalized, but I hadn't the heart to levy against their pitiful possessions. So I asked them, individually, if they would drop the feud and never revive it, if allowed to go unpunished.

They all shouted in their eagerness, "Eh! Eh, mil (Yes! Yes, you say it!)"

The case was dismissed. I heard of no more such pranks, but

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their love of excitement undoubtedly would prompt them to find some other way to keep the village astir and themselves interested. 691 695

Long after the dispute was settled, Billy's wife's reiteration, "I too mad," stayed with me. It helped me to appreciate the basic honesty of these children of nature: no soft words covered angry thoughts; no smile hid a broken heart. They expressed their emotions, with zest and energy and, if the occasion required, with violence, as did the Bear, the Coyote and the Deer who, from the Days of Old, had taught the Havasupai the wisdom they themselves had gleaned from the wilderness when time was young. 152

CHAPTER NINETEEN

*The Day the Mail
Did Not Go*

000 ☞ At four o'clock one morning I was awakened by a loud pounding on my bedroom door. Miss Goenawein was calling excitedly, "Miss Gregg! Miss Gregg! Come here—hurry!"

I sprang out of bed, shoved my feet into slippers, pulled on a robe and ran to her room. There in the open doorway stood Spoonhead, the mail carrier, the mail pouch clutched in his hand. His long, queer head looked more than ever like the bowl of a spoon as I stared at him, wondering what mischief he had cooked up to get me out of bed at this hour.

487
674 His pony stood in the yard, bridle rein dangling. The saddle was decorated like a Christmas tree with Spoonhead's numerous bundles: food for himself and his horse, extra clothing for the cold nights on the mesa, and those mysterious knickknacks he took on such trips. I did not notice the absence of the large, red Navaho blanket he always carried neatly rolled and strapped to the back of his saddle, until he began gesticulating wildly and shouted, "My blanket! He steal 'em. He go there." He pointed to the base of the canyon wall.

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578 There I saw a short, heavy-set Indian with a blanket thrown across his shoulders, crouched low, running stealthily from bush to bush, seeking cover for escape. In the dim light we caught only fleeting glimpses of the man. I could not understand why Spoonhead did not give chase and try to retrieve his property.

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"Go after him and get your blanket!" I exclaimed, almost as excited as Spoonhead was. 674
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He did not move. Instead he was watching me brightly, sure that the Hico would settle the difficulty; why else was she here? When he realized that I had no intention of chasing the thief, his elongated face grew inches longer.

"Tell me that man's name," I said. "You know who he is."

"Plenty dark. No can see," was his naive reply.

Later, I learned his reason for evasion. If he betrayed the thief, he would betray himself. Spoonhead wanted his blanket but with no questions asked. He had no intention of catching the thief, and when he made up his mind that I had none, he said, "No take mail. No go. Got no blanket. Plenty cold up there." He dropped the mail pouch to the floor.

"Get on your horse. The mail must go," I told him. "I'll get you a blanket."

At that moment the thief dashed from behind a boulder to a mesquite bush, and I recognized him.

"That's Walapai Bill!" I exclaimed. "You knew all the time it was he. Find Veinor and tell him to meet me at Walapai Bill's camp. You go there with him."

In the excitement I too was forgetting the sanctity of the United States mail and the tradition that come hell or high water nothing must interfere with its transportation.

The morning still held that darkness that precedes the dawn, and the usual thick fog hung just above the ground, so I went to my room to put on warm clothing.

Like a damp thread the narrow trail wound through dense underbrush so high that it met overhead, with every leaf and twig dripping water. Along the path I caught glimpses of watching eyes that moved through the brush as I moved, but drew back and vanished when I looked directly at them. The village was astir and palpitating with the news that an old feud had flared up anew. Like curious, impetuous children the Indians peeped from bushes and doorways, unwilling to miss an instant's excitement that could

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674 be caught and later exaggerated to entertain relatives and friends.
578 Walapai Bill's house was a low mound of earth with a door in one end. He was in the yard chopping brush in short lengths for his cooking fire.

"I want Spoonhead's blanket," I told him shortly. My patience was not improved by the fact that I was cold and soaking wet.

"Didn't see blanket," he said, his graying head bent over the wood. "You look my house, you no see blanket."

I pushed open the rickety board door that hung on leather hinges and entered. The dirt floor was worn to a saucerlike depression, the sides sloping to the flat circle in the center. A search did not reveal the blanket, which was too large and too vivid in color to be concealed easily. His wife also had disappeared. I went outside as Vesnor and Spoonhead rode up on their ponies.

With his usual astuteness, Vesnor knew exactly where to find the blanket. He pursed his lips and pointed to the canyon wall. "Over there, I think," he said. "Maybe wife hide 'em in storehouse."

"Bring the woman here," I told him, "and make her bring the blanket."

He sprang through the brush, climbed the talus, and followed a trail on a shelf of rock until trees and shrubs hid him from view. The Indians crowded in, forming a half-circle about the hut, eager to see the culprit brought in.

Vesnor returned, his hard right hand firmly grasping the woman's wrist. She followed, pulling back angrily with each step, the heavy blanket across her shoulder. Her lord and master had ordered her to hide his loot in their granary and she had had no choice but to obey.

I sent the Indians home except those actually involved in the theft. I told the women to give their children food and get them ready for school, then I investigated the affair.

674 Walapai Bill's cockiness melted rapidly when he was told that
578 he could be sent to jail for theft, and that his interfering with the
695 transportation of the United States mail was no light matter. His

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fat shoulders slumped and his bold daring changed to indecision. He prized above all else his freedom to go where and when he pleased, so built up his defense. 674 578 695

"Long time ago, I go on mesa. I hunt seeds, nuts; make good food. I hunt rabbits, deer. Gone long time, maybe so many"—he held up four fingers—"moons. Come home, door all break. Somebody go in house, take saddle blanket. Little one. I think Spoonhead steal 'em. That why I steal Spoonhead blanket. He steal me, I steal him. That way Indians do. Make play like little game; little mad, too."

Spoonhead angrily met the accusation, for not all of the truth had been told, and the blame had been shifted to him. "Long time, Walapai Bill, me, gamble. He lose. One dollar. He no pay. I take blanket. Little one. Worth maybe one dollar," he shouted.

Walapai Bill sheepishly admitted the truth of Spoonhead's statement. Each of them was entirely willing to return the other's blanket for they now realized the gravity of the situation. Spoonhead went to his camp and returned with the saddle blanket which he exchanged for his big Navaho. It remained only for Walapai Bill to pay his debt of honor to wipe out the long-standing feud. Unless this were paid, the good-natured pilfering would start all over again. I suggested that he take care of it. I was not sure that he had the money; if he had, where he kept it was a mystery. 695

He ducked through his doorway, very reluctantly lifted a rug from the center of the floor, dropped to his knees and began digging in the dirt with both hands. He clawed out the hard-packed soil, tossing the dirt back as a dog throws it when digging a burrow. I watched his queer antics in bewilderment, amused at the concentration with which he worked. Then his pudgy, brown fingers scratched metal and he drew from the hole a rusty baking powder can, with the word "Royal" still legible on its paper cover. He twisted and turned the lid until it came free; then, fumbling around inside, he took a silver dollar from the coins in the can. He handed the dollar to me, and the woebegone look on his face told how hard was the parting. I gave the money to Spoonhead,

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231 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
 423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon, and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

577 Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
 578 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

131 As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
 423 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the Indians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

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754 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

164 Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-

[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil something within the patient that causes the disease.

● [578] If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no longer need expect any help from the medicine-man, whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As

751 in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage.

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Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land.

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Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years.

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Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms.

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Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes.

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touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water.

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It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts.

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Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water.

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Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away.

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Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

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In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little.

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578 When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and
857 said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pur-
865 sued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew,
or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not
bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading
[114] this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere,
time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior
rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to
petty jealousies.")

578 Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was ob-
served that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he
made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he
[181] (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity to-
ward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is
customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land
inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reserva-
tion, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried posi-
tions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has oc-
casionaly drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is
probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain dis-
gruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem right-
fully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then
[304] parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with
everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew
or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly
to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spank-
ings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards
were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on
boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied
by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone
this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish
his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve
it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over their chil-
dren's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively to-
ward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal
and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten
with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai.

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Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog.

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Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.)

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Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals.

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Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the

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six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi.) When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives.

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When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time.

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768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her
protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his step-father treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; 578 others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so shy that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed
302 with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots,
[531] or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their
faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended
lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may
also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has
largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common,
while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general
use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo
their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials,
probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one per-
son seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing
the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on
a metal, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste.
Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs
832 and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of
[578] a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or
[516] a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are
careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, be-
cause this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs
to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture,
a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although
there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are
careful not to gain it.

846 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of
292 other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns
to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from
juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe
don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said
856 to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her
face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose
and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This
routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines,
[177] which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added:
"I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and
she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a
mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present
economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier
(1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several
examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at
the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations
following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Although
578 this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed
627 at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his
Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and
separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman
stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but
that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief
statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do
so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was
reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife
were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all
spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the
837 hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her
684 as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up.
One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the hus-
band about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they
could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with
another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with
her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the
relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

Sharing the Work

462 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one
593 sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over
his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally
582 judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and
578 wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband.

Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection. If affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence.

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships, although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

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Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

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Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

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A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and friction.

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593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
[586] time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[576] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually
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422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.

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[768] In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

423 Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
428 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his consanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

● 578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male relatives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who
177 failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He emphasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

423 In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
562 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

423 nance of herself and her children.

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A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

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The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands, remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women.

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Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit.

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Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique.

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Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Palute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form.

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The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home.

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"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe.

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Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted.

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At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage.

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Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex.

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867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarrelling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few un-
complimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disput-
ants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or
the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach
or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face
with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 23, employed
at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was ob-
served during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or
[579] groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together
as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and
they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or
blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise pre-
pare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would
go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they
would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait
for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to
leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be
hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women
would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and
good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and some-
times moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an
evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a posi-
tion of availability.

[540] In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart
[896] from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been
much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best
looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as
considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence
alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities
were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but,
in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
578 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house
156 in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her
presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of
the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employ-
ment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her.

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Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. [931]

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This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations.

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Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven.

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Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women 837 probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting 762 (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

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The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

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In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

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Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

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423 planted stand in the fields and not or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
 [423] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
 768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
 [425] uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
 as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
 whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision
 he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
 648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
 428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Problems
 621 of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
 argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
 agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
 years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
 and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
 land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
 that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
 was not accurate,² however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
 on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according
 to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any previous
 notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
 578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
 cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
 Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
 left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
 man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
 to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified
 this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
 dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
 which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
 125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
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Complex of the Pueblos (in Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber, pp. 219-232, Berkeley, 1916).

² This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr. Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge of Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havampai

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve.
The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammae; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance en route. Both men and women are rather light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-ra-su-pai are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They

• [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarrelling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely polite bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

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